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WOMAN SUFFRAGE

A STUDY OUTLINE

PREPARED BY
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HYMN FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE*

By Percy MacKaye

They have strewn the burning hearths of Man with darkness and with mire,
They have heaped the burning hearts of Man with ashes of desire,
Yet from out those hearts and hearths still leaps the quick eternal fire
Whose flame is liberty.

But the flame which once led deathward all the dazzled fighting hordes
Lights them now to living freedom from the bondage of their lords,
And our mothers are uprisen 'mid their sons to wrest the swords
From hands of tyranny.

For the freedom of the laborer is freedom from his toil,
And freedom of the citizen is right to share the soil,
And the freedom of our country is our loosing of the coil
That chokes posterity.

So we who wage our devious wars, in fastness and in fen,
Let us claim our common birthright in the living sun again,
Till the battle of the beasts becomes the reasoning of men,
And joy our destiny.

Let us march then, all together, not because our leaders call,
But at summons of the mighty soul of man within us all,
Men and women, equal comrades, let us storm the nation's wall
And cry "Equality!"

For the vote that brings to woman and to man life's common bread,
Is mightier than the mindless gun that leaves a million dead;
And the rights of Man shall triumph where once men and women bled
When mothers of men are free.

* From "The Present Hour," by Percy MacKaye. Reprinted by permission of the author. The Macmillan Company, publishers.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The undaunted suffragist who emerges from a campaign that has deferred but not defeated her cause invariably feels that she might have carried her district or her town if she had only been better prepared for her work. She has the conviction that the larger success of the woman suffrage issue will be directly due to broader suffrage education, not only for herself but for the whole woman population that must be trained up to citizenship.

It is for suffragists of experience, therefore, no less than for many who are facing or hoping soon to face state campaigns for the first time that this study outline has been prepared. Its scope, from Plato to the present, offers the breadth of view necessary not only for a good perspective but also for deep appreciation of the meaning of the subject.

The bibliography, while not exhaustive, aims to include the freshest and most illuminating material available. It is an almost exasperating fact that many remarkable utterances on subjects listed here have never got into print. A long list of valuable round table subjects readily suggests itself to experienced suffragists, but articles upon these subjects have not found their way into magazines. In this connection might be mentioned the fact that the model suffrage speech has yet to be written. There are many excellent speeches, model in some respects; but it is difficult to find one which meets the requirements of technic as well as substance. The explanation for the lack is to be

found in the fact that suffrage propagandists have been too busy making speeches to stop to write them. Extending and formulating suffrage literature will be the task of the next decade.

If, then, the references for some of the topics are rather meager, let it be understood that the lack is due to the dearth of material. Perhaps the paucity will spur some clever suffrage students on to make up for the deficiency.

There have been included under the first topic, "Some early ideas on sex equality," also under other topics thruout the outline a few books that will be hard to secure. They are listed for readers who have access to large libraries. Others will find it possible to arrange the reading without these books, omitting, if necessary, the first topic.

The material listed under the first division of "The suffrage speech" is wholly composed of leaflets, sold by the dozen or the hundred, whose subject matter is so obvious from the titles that no mention has been made of them in the annotated bibliography.

Credit is due Miss Margaret Ladd Franklin for the bibliography made use of for "Some early ideas on sex equality."

J. L. W.

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STUDY OUTLINE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

A GENERAL VIEW

I

Women in Early Times

1. Some early ideas on sex equality.

Astrell. An essay in the defence of the female sex.
Feyjoo y Montenegro. A defence on the vindication of the women.
Plato. Republic; Book V; §451-456.
"Sophia." Beauty's triumph. .
Walsh. Dialogue concerning women.

2. Survey of women's rights under (1) Roman law; (2) The early Christian church; (3) Germanic law; (4) The canon law; (5) English law

Bryce. Studies in history and jurisprudence. p. 783-859.
Cleveland. Woman under the English law.
Colquhon. Roman civil law. See references under "Marriage."
Encyclopaedia Britannica. 11 ed., v. 28, p. 782-8.
Ferrero. Ancient Rome and modern America. p. 61-77.
Fowler. Social life at Rome in the age of Cicero. p. 135-67.
Hecker. A short history of woman's rights. p. 1-149.
Mackeldy. Handbook of Roman law.
Muirhead. Historical introduction to the private law of Rome.
Pollock and Maitland. History of English law before the time of Edward I. v. 1, p. 465-8; v. 2, 362-445.
Tacitus. Works. v. 2, p. 286-342.
Tucker. Life in the Roman world. p. 289-313.

II

World Movement for Suffrage *

1. United States.

Barnes. Woman in modern society. p. 173-206.
Björkman and Porritt. Woman suffrage. p. 64-106.
Harper. Brief history of the movement for woman suffrage in the United States.
Harper. Life and work of Susan B. Anthony.
Hecker. Short history of women's rights. p. 150-235.
Howe. Julia Ward Howe and the woman suffrage movement.
Schirmacher. Modern woman's rights movement. p. 2-42.
Shaw. Story of a pioneer..
Squire. Woman movement in America.
Stanton and Others. History of woman suffrage.
Zimmern. Women's suffrage in many lands. p. 1-15.
North American Review. 200: 893-9. Dec. '14. Recent elections and woman suffrage. Ida H. Hooper.
Outlook 102: 375-6. Oct. 26, '12. Progress of woman's suffrage.
World To-Day. 19: 1017-21. Sept. 10. Evolution of the woman suffrage movement. Ida H. Harper.
World's Work. 22: 14733-45. Aug. '11. Recent strides of woman suffrage. Bertha D. Knobe.

2. Other Teutonic countries: Great Britain, Canada, Scandinavian countries, Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Luxemburg, Austria and South Africa. Hungary, tho not of Teutonic origin is included in this group. (See footnote p. 13.)

Anthony. Feminist movement in Germany.
Blackburn. Women's suffrage.
Björkman and Porritt. Woman suffrage.
Fawcett. Women's suffrage.

* See "Gains in Equal Suffrage," p. 28.

Hecker. Short history of women's rights. p. 120-50.
Schirmacher. Modern woman's rights movement. p 58-175.
Smith. Outlines of women's franchise movement in New Zealand. p. 98.
Swanwick. Future of the women's movement.
Zimmern. Women's suffrage in many lands. p. 16-109; 152-76.
Atlantic Monthly. 109: 457-67. Apr. '12. The German woman. Hugo Münsterberg.
Canadian Magazine. 41: 162-5. June '13. Canadian women and the suffrage. Isabel Skelton.
Chautauquan. 58: 97-108. Mar. '10. Woman suffrage movement in Great Britain. Mrs. Philip Snowden.
Forum. 44: 569-83. Nov. '10. Votes for women in England. Archibald Henderson.
Forum. 51: 347-53. Mar. '14. Aspects of the English suffrage movement. J. Salwyn Schapiro.
Independent. 84: 119-20. Oct. 25, '15. Demonstration of equal suffrage.
Independent. 82: 5-14. June 21, '15. Danish women win. Ida H. Harper.
Independent. 68: 1442-5. June 30, '10. Woman suffrage in Great Britain. Ida H. Harper.
Independent. 72: 399-403. Feb. 22, '12. Woman suffrage crises in Great Britain. Ida H. Harper.
Nineteenth Century. 71: 364-77. Feb. '12. Legal position of women in Norway. J. Castberg.
North American Review. 183: 1272-9. Dec. 21, '06. Australian woman and the ballot. Alice Henry.
North American Review. 188: 650-8. Nov. '08. Woman movement in England. Charles F. Aked.
Popular Science Monthly. 56: 328-37. Jan. '00. Woman's struggle for liberty in Germany. Mary M. Patrick.
Report of Seventh Congress of The International Woman Suffrage Alliance held in Budapest, Hungary, June 15-21, 1913.
Review of Reviews. 44: 726. Dec. '11. World movement for suffrage. Ida H. Harper.
Review of Reviews. 45: 231-2. Feb. '12. Changing ideals of the modern German woman.

Twentieth Century Magazine. 3: 330-33. Jan. '11. Woman suffrage in Norway. Saint N. Singh.

Westminster Review. 170: 43-53. July '08. Woman movement in New Zealand. Edith S. Grossman.

Woman's Journal. 46: 383. Dec. 4, '15. Holland's bill includes women.

Woman Voter. 7: 20. Jan. '16. Woman suffrage in Holland. Martina G. Kramers.

III

World Movement for Suffrage (*Continued*)

1. Romance Countries: France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Björkman and Porritt. Woman suffrage.
Ellis. Soul of Spain. p. 86-7.
Schirmacher. Modern woman's rights movement. p. 175-211.
Zimmern. Women's suffrage in many lands. p. 110-36.
Century. 85: 116-26. Nov. 12. Feminist of France. Ethel D. Rockwell.
Contemporary Review. 76: 819-31. Dec. '99. Woman question in Italy. Dora Melegari.
Fortnightly Review. 96: 328-35. Aug. '11. French woman and the vote. Charles Dawbarn.
Harper's Weekly. 58: 28. May 16, '14. Forward! Feminists of France. Robert W. Sneddon.
Report of Seventh Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance held in Budapest, Hungary, June 15-21, 1913.
Review of Reviews. 44: 354-6. Sept. '11. Glimpse of the feminist movement in France. Mme. Renaud.
Review of Reviews. 44: 726. Dec. '11. World movement for woman suffrage. Ida H. Harper.

2. Slavic and Balkan states including Russia's dependency, Finland.*

Björkman and Porritt. Woman suffrage, p. 41-4.
Curtis. Around the Black Sea. p. 424-9.
Reade, Arthur. Finland and the Finns. Chapter XV, on the "Rights of Women."
Schirmacher. Modern woman's rights movement. p. 110-16; 215-42.
Wiener. An interpretation of the Russian people.

* Finland is often incorrectly classed with the Scandinavian countries. Only geographically is the classification permissible. Linguistically, Finland is not of the Indo-European family but belongs to the same Asiatic group as the Hungarians. Politically, the country is dominated by Russia, whose dependency it is.

Zimmern. Women's suffrage in many lands. p. 137-51.
International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Report of congress held in Budapest, Hungary, June 15-21, 1913.
Literary Digest. 49: 282-3. Aug. '14. Women of Hungary.
Review of Reviews. 44: 726. Dec. '11. World movement for woman suffrage. Ida H. Harper.
Review of Reviews. 46: 243-4. Aug. '12. Effect of votes on women in Finland.
Review of Reviews. 49: 731-2. June '14. New freedom for the Russian women.
Review of Reviews. 51: 614-16. May '15. Russian program and the working of woman suffrage.
Review of Reviews. 44: 728. Dec. '11. World movement for woman suffrage. Ida H. Harper.
Westminster Review. 159: 429-35. Apr. '03. Position of women in Russia. James Burns.

3. Orient and the Far East.

Delineator. 79: 283-363. Apr. '12. Unbinding the women of China.
Edinburgh Review. 216: 163-86 July '12 Changing status of oriental women. J. O. P. Bland and others.
Fortnightly Review. 93: 1175-82. June '13. First Persian feminist. Constance E. Maud.
Independent. 75: 667-70. Sept. 18, '13. Women of China. Rev. Charles Bone.
Independent. 67: 418-20. Aug. 19, '09. Woman suffrage in South Africa. Irene M. Ashby Macfadyen.
Literary Digest. 44: 1306-9. June 22 '12. An American girl reforming India.
Literary Digest. 46: 563-4. Mar. 15 '13. Patnotie awakening of the Turkish women.
Literary Digest. 44: 239. Feb. 3, '12. Suffragettes of China.
Nineteenth Century. 72: 1040-51. Nov. '12. Position of Women in China. Edith Blake.
Popular Science Monthly. 82: 71-5. Jan. '13. Position of women in China. Dr. L. Pearl Boggs.
Review of Reviews. 46: 73-80. July '12. New woman of the new East. Adachi Kinnosuke and Basanta K. Roy.

GENERAL ARGUMENTS FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

IV

Arguments Based on Evolution, Justice, Expediency

1. Progress in the evolution of woman.

   Higher education and economic independence have been achieved. Political independence is the logical next step.

   Curtis. Higher education of women. v. 1, p. 401-25.
   Gilman. Women and economics.
   Hale. What women want.
   McClung. In times like these.
   Phelps, E. M. Woman suffrage. Brief, p. xi.
   Annals of the American Academy. 56: 1-8. Nov. '14. Larger aspects of the woman's movement. Jane Addams.
   Annals of the American Academy. 56: 9-17. Nov. '14. Woman's place in the new civilization. Earl Barnes.
   Kappa Alpha Theta. 29: 313-20. May '15. Justice and the expediency of votes for women. Justina L. Wilson.
   North American Review. 202: 730-5. Nov. '15. Suffrage and a woman's centenary. Ida H. Harper.

2. Justice.

   Catt. Woman suffrage and its basic argument.
   Creel. Justice vs. chivalry.
   Du Bois. Disfranchisement.
   M'Carthy. Political enfranchisement of women.
   Mazzini. Duties towards the family in the duties of man. v. 4, p. 281-90.
   Schmidt. Government by the people.
   Whitlock. Women and democracy.
   Annals of the American Academy. 56: 93-8. Nov. '14. Equal Suffrage—a problem of political justice. Anna H. Shaw.
   Independent. 82: 3-4. Apr. 5, '15. Justice and desirability of woman suffrage.
   North American Review. 183: 484-98. Sept. 21, '06. Suffrage—a right.

3. Expediency.

Addams. Why women should vote.
Björkman. Why women want to vote.
Coit. Soul of America. p. 45-9.
Eastman. Woman's suffrage and sentiment.
Fawcett. Home and politics.
Mill. Subjection of women.
Phelps. Woman suffrage. Brief, p. xii-xiii.
Ross. Social psychology.
Annals of the American Academy. 56: 105-10. Nov. '14. Socializing influence of the ballot upon women. Hutchinson.
Catholic World. 102: 55-67. Oct. '15. Catholic womanhood and the suffrage. Helen Haines.
Current Opinion. 54: 483-4. June '13. Ballot as an ethical education for women.
Forum. 53: 711-27. June '15. Why do women want the ballot? H. G. Cutler.
Forum. 48: 394-408. Oct. '12. Woman and the state. Anna G. Spencer.
Literary Digest. 44: 1211-12. June 8, '12. Catholic view of woman suffrage.
National Municipal Review. 4: 437-47. July '15. Are women a force for good government?
Survey. 31: 595-6. Feb. 7, '14. Women socializing politics. Graham Taylor.
United States. 63d Congress, 2d session. House Doc. No. 754. Hearing before the Committee on Rules, House of Representatives, on resolution establishing a committee on woman suffrage. Dec. 3-5, 1915.

V

Arguments Based on the Actual Working of Equal Suffrage.

1. United States.

Barnes. Woman in modern society. p. 173-206.
Björkman and Porritt. Woman suffrage. p. 106-50.
Effect of vote of women on legislation.
Kelley. Some ethical gains through legislation. p. 172-208.
Meredith. What difference does it make to women?
Sumner. Equal suffrage.
Thomas. Why equal suffrage has been a success.
Abbott. National Municipal Review. 4:437-47. July '15. Are women a force for good government? Edith Abbott.
American Magazine. 79:57-8. Feb. '15. How women voted in Chicago. Hugh S. Fullerton.
Century. 87: 663-71. Mar. '14. What have women done with the vote? George Creel.
Harper's Weekly. 58:18. May 2, '14. Woman's vote in Utah. Erna von R. Owen.
Harper's Weekly. 58:20-3. Apr. 25, '14. How women vote. Katherine Buell.
Harper's Weekly. 60:441. May 8, '15. Result in California. Inez H. Gillmore.
Journal of Education. 82:244. Sept. 16, '15. Reports from suffrage states. J. A. Stewart.
Literary Digest. 48:891-2. Woman's hand in Illinois.
Literary Digest. 51:753-6. Oct. 9, '15. What America thinks of votes for women.
National Municipal Review. 3:663-71. Oct. '14. Do women vote? Ellis Meredith.
New Republic. 3:151. June 12, '15. Statistics in Chicago suffrage. Edith Abbott.
Nineteenth Century. 75:415-33. F. '14. Woman suffrage at work in America. Robert Palmer. A. McCallum Scott.
North American Review. 199:338-44. Mar. '14. Working on equal suffrage. George Harvey.

Outlook. 106: 509-11. Mar. 7, '14. Women vote in Illinois.

Review of Reviews. 47: 608-10. May '13. How California women voters made good.

Sunset. 30: 344-8. Apr. '13. Vice and the woman's vote. Miriam Michelson.

Survey. 32: 344-8. Apr. 18, '14. Women's voting significantly tested in Illinois.

Woman's Journal. 46: 380. Dec. 25, '15. Women do vote, and Some California figures. Alice S. Blackwell.

World's Work. 27: 14-5. Nov. '13. Year of equal suffrage.

2. Foreign countries.

Contemporary Review. 102: 105-8. July '12. Finland's woman deputies and their work. Vera Palen-Kordes.

Delineator. 77: 270-352. Apr. '11. Where suffrage made good. W. Farmer Whyte and Sarah W. MacConnell.

Independent. 73: 334-5. Aug. 8, '15. Success of woman suffrage.

Literary Digest. 46: 700-1. Mar. 29, '13. Bright side of suffrage in Finland.

Nineteenth Century. 74: 979-87. Nov. '12 Women's parliamentary franchise in practice. George H. Frodsham.

World To-day. 21: 1055-60. Sept. '11 Woman suffrage in New Zealand. Theresa H. Russell.

THE SUFFRAGE PROGRAM

VI

Ways to Win

1. Presidential and municipal suffrage secured by legislative enactment (e. g. Illinois).

Journal of the House of Representatives of the 48th General Assembly of the state of Illinois, 1914. See p. 2271 for index to record of House Bill 56.

Journal of the Senate of the 48th general assembly of Illinois, 1914. See p. 2371 for index to record of Senate Bill 63.

Collier's. 51: 56. Aug. 9, '13. The noiseless suffragette. George Fitch.

Literary Digest. 46: 1409-11. June 28, '13. The suffrage conquest of Illinois.

Woman Voter. 7: 13-14. Ja. '16. Presidential suffrage—how and why. Nora Blatch de Forest.

2. Full suffrage secured by an amendment to the state constitution and carried by popular election.

Headquarters News Letter. 1: 3-5. Oct. '15. Congressman Hayden on suffrage tactics.

New York State Constitutional Convention Commission. Index digest of state constitutions. p. 11-30.

Outlook. 110: 243. June 2, '15. Woman suffrage and the New York Convention.

Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science. 5: 73-81. Oct. '14. Woman suffrage. Thomas R. Powell.

Woman Voter. 7: 12. Jan. '16. State campaigns. Harriet B. Laidlaw.

3. Full suffrage secured thru the Federal amendment.

Beard. American citizenship. p. 97.

Harper. National amendment for woman suffrage.

Susan B. Anthony Amendment. Text; Procedure in Congress; Procedure in the states.

Current Opinion. 56:9-11. June '14. Annual invasion of Congress by the woman suffragists.

Headquarters News Letter. 1:3-8. Congressman Hayden on suffrage.

Literary Digest. 48:745-6. Apr. 4, 14. Suffrage as a national issue.

North American Review. 109:709-21. May '14. National constitution will enfranchise women. Ida H. Harper.

Woman Voter. 7:8. Jan. '16 How?

VII

Organization: The Political District Plan *

1. Plan for a woman suffrage party in any state.

   Laidlaw. Organizing to win. p. 3-4.

2. Activities of the woman suffrage party; Political, legislation, propaganda, education for civic life, reform.

   Laidlaw. Organizing to win. p. 4-12.

* The outline for this day's study is based upon Mrs. Harriet B. Laidlaw's "Handbook for Working Suffragists."

ROUND TABLE TALKS

VIII

Woman and the State

1. Woman and the law: political and legal status of women.

Bayles. Woman and the law.

Bebel. Woman under socialism. Chap. x. Woman's civil and political status.

Hecker. Short history of women's rights. p. 174-235.

International Council of Women. Women's position in the laws of the nations.

Lecky. Democracy and liberty.

McCabe. Woman in political evolution.

McCulloch. Mr. Lex.

Ostrogorski. Rights of women.

Rembaugh. Present political status of women in the United States.

Roe. Discriminations against women in the laws of New York.

Wilson. Legal status of women in the United States.

Chautauquan. 18: 477-80. Jan. '94. Political status of women. Jeanette Howard.

2. Women in politics.

Beard. Woman's work in municipalities. p. 319-37.

American Journal of politics. 2: 385-7. Apr. '93. Women in politics.

Harper's Weekly. 56: 12. Nov. 9, '12. Women in politics in the presidential campaign.

Literary Digest. 45: 324-6. Women's work in the campaign.

Literary Digest. 51: 896. Oct. '15. Women enter Japanese politics.

Nineteenth Century. 72: 167-81. July '12. Where women sit in parliament. Edith Sellers.

Outlook. 102: 162-4. Sept. 28, '12. Women in politics.

Survey. 31: 595-6. Feb. 7, '14. Women socializing politics. Graham Taylor.

IX

Some Social Aspects of Suffrage

1. The relation of woman suffrage to feminism.

Blackwell. The threefold menace.
Crothers. Meditations on votes for women. p. 19-21.
Dell. Women as world builders. p. 1-22.
George. Woman and to-morrow. p. 1-57.
Hale. What women want.
Annals of the American Academy. 56: 18-26. Nov. '14. The economic basis of feminism. Maurice Parmelee.
Forum. 48: 455-64. Oct. '12. New prophetess of feminism. Frances M. Björkman.
Good Housekeeping. 58: 679-84. May '14. What is feminism? Rose Young.

2. Woman suffrage and war.

Addams, and others. Women at The Hague.
Blake. Women and war.
MacKaye. Hymn for equal suffrage.
Mead. Abolition of the war system.
Militarism versus feminism.
Harper's Weekly. 61: 548-9. Dec. 4, '15. War and woman suffrage. Ida H. Harper.
Survey. 35: 148. Nov. 6, '15. Women, war and suffrage. Jane Addams.

3. Woman suffrage and temperance.

Blackwell. Suffrage and temperance.
Björkman. Woman suffrage and the liquor interests.
Annals of the American Academy. 56: 143-52. Nov. '14. Woman suffrage and the liquor traffic. E. S. Stewart.
Institution Quarterly. 5: 59-62. D. 13, '14. How Illinois women voted on saloons.

4. Woman suffrage and the church.

Craigie. Christian citizenship.
Dietrick. Women in the early Christian church.
Literary Digest. 50: 1156. My. 15, '15. Woman suffrage and the church.
Westminster Review. 131: 135-47. Feb. '89. St. Paul and the woman movement.

TRAINING THE PUBLIC WORKER FOR PUBLIC SPEAKING

STATEMENT: Suffrage schools have been held in the large suffrage centers where men and women, desirous of equipping themselves for public speaking, assemble not only to study suffrage arguments, tactics, human psychology and its relation to attracting and holding audiences but also to prepare for delivery through technical training in voice, attitude and gesture. This department of present day suffrage activity is vastly important because there has not been a town in any campaign state so far that has had enough speakers for local work. In all further effective campaign efforts it will be absolutely necessary to train up local women for platform speaking. The work outlined in the program to this point, if it has been carried on with thoroughness, has furnished a broad suffrage view. Now the aim is to focus upon the special material out of which suffrage speeches are fashioned; viz., arguments. In program IV the subject of arguments was considered in a broad way. The bibliography inserted at this point refers the prospective speaker to specific considerations and to specific handling of them.

X

THE SUFFRAGE SPEECH

1. Material*: Arguments and results.

ARGUMENTS.

Addams. Women and public housekeeping.
Blackwell. Do teachers need the ballot?
Blackwell. Is voting an industry?

* These leaflets are all published by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, 171 Madison Ave., N. Y. Price per 100, postpaid, 25c.

Blackwell. Objections answered.
Blackwell. Why women should vote.
Blackwell. Women do not want it.
Blake. Women and war.
Björkman. Facts and dates to remember.
Breckenridge. Mother's sphere.
Catholic opinions.
Catt. Feminism and suffrage.
Crane. Business versus the home.
Dennett. Real point.
Disfranchised men.
Dix. Woman's Ballot.
Fitzgerald. Have we a democracy?
Fitzgerald. Women in the home.
Hopkins. Woman's place.
Hutchinson. Biological argument.
Kelley. Woman suffrage, its relation to working women and children.
Mead. Suffrage and soldiering.
Meredith. What difference does it make to women?
Nathan. Justice and expediency of woman suffrage.
Obenchain. Indirect influence.
Obenchain. Unanswerable argument answered.
O'Hagan. Do men represent women?
O'Hagan. Why the housekeeper needs the vote.
O'Sullivan. Why the working woman needs the vote.
Phelan. Living wages and the ballot.
Potter. Direct way.
Runtz-Rees. Passages from the speeches of Dr. Anna H. Shaw.
Shaw. Ten extempore answers to questions.
Sunkhovitch. Votes in the tenements.
Twenty-five answers to anti's.
Usher. Question of fitness.

RESULTS

Blackwell. Women and the school vote.
Blackwell. Ministers in equal suffrage states on votes for women.
Brewer. Summing up the case for woman suffrage.
California—Results in.

Colorado—Testimony from.
Colorado—Truth about.
Decker. Some common questions answered.
Eminent people declare for suffrage.
Grenfell. Ballot and the schools.
Idaho—Testimony from.
Lindsay. Suffrage in Colorado.
Reynolds. Votes for women a success.
Twenty facts about woman suffrage.
Wyoming—Testimony from.

2. Divisions: What introduction, body and conclusion should include.

Esenwein. How to attract and hold an audience. p. 76-84.
Kleiser. A dictionary guide to public speaking.
Livermore. Outline of suffrage speech.
Robinson. Effective public speaking. p. 31-101.

3. Some good suffrage speeches.

Clark. Why women ought to desire the ballot.
Eastman. Is woman suffrage important?
Jacobi. Address on behalf of the women of the city of New York before the Committee on suffrage of the state constitutional convention, May 31, 1894.
Johnston. Speech delivered to the House of Governors, in Richmond, Va., Dec. 1912.
Phillips. Shall women have the vote?
Robins. The ballot for women for the protection of the home.
Shaw. Speech delivered at Birmingham, Ala., April 16, 1915.

XI

The Speaker

1. Preparation: Voice, gesture, practice.

   Esenwein. How to attract and hold an audience. Part III.
   Esenwein and Carnagey. Art of public speaking. p. 15-70.
   Kleiser. Complete Guide to Public Speaking. See sections on preparation, voice, gesture, practice.
   Robinson. Effective public speaking. p. 363-98.

2. Delivery.

   Brink. Making of an oration. p. 196-208.
   Esenwein. How to attract and hold an audience. Part IV.
   Esenwein and Carnagey. Art of public speaking. p. 171-81.
   Fowler. Art of speech making.

GAINS IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

ALICE S. BLACKWELL.

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden, and in a few other places in the old world.

Time	Place	Kind of Suffrage
1838	Kentucky	School suffrage to widows with children of school age.
1850	Ontario	School suffrage, women married and single
1861	Kansas	School suffrage.
1867	New South Wales	Municipal suffrage.
1869	England	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
	Victoria	Municipal suffrage, married and single women.
	Wyoming	Full suffrage.
1871	West Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1875	Michigan	School suffrage.
	Minnesota	School suffrage.
1876	Colorado	School suffrage.
1877	New Zealand	School suffrage.
1878	New Hampshire	School suffrage.
	Oregon	School suffrage.
1879	Massachusetts	School suffrage.
1880	New York	School suffrage.
	Vermont	School suffrage.
	South Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1881	Scotland	Municipal suffrage to the single women and widows.
	Isle of Man	Parliamentary suffrage.
1883	Nebraska	School suffrage.
1884	Ontario	Municipal suffrage.
	Tasmania	Municipal suffrage.
1886	New Zealand	Municipal suffrage.
	New Brunswick	Municipal suffrage.
1887	Kansas	Municipal suffrage.
	Nova Scotia	Municipal suffrage.

Time	Place	Kind of Suffrage
1887	Manitoba	Municipal suffrage.
	North Dakota	School suffrage.
	South Dakota	School suffrage.
	Montana	School suffrage.
	Arizona	School suffrage.
	New Jersey	School suffrage.
	Montana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1888	England	County suffrage.
	British Columbia	Municipal suffrage.
	Northwest Territory	Municipal suffrage.
1889	Scotland	County suffrage.
	Province of Quebec	Municipal suffrage. Single women and widows.
1891	Illinois	School suffrage.
1893	Connecticut	School suffrage.
	Colorado	Full suffrage.
	New Zealand	Full suffrage.
1894	Ohio	School suffrage.
	Iowa	Bond suffrage.
	England	Parish and district suffrage. Married and single women.
1895	South Australia	Full state suffrage.
1896	Utah	Full suffrage.
	Idaho	Full suffrage.
1898	Ireland	All offices except members of Parliament.
	Minnesota	Library trustees.
	Delaware	School suffrage to tax paying women.
	France	Women engaged in commerce can vote for judges of the Tribunal of commerce.
	Louisiana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1900	Wisconsin	School suffrage.
	West Australia	Full state suffrage.
1901	New York	Tax-paying suffrage. Local taxation in all towns and villages of the state.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage.
1902	Australia	Full suffrage.
	New South Wales	Full state suffrage.

Time	Place	Kind of Suffrage
1903	Kansas	Bond suffrage.
	Tasmania	Full state suffrage.
1905	Queensland	Full state suffrage.
1906	Finland	Full suffrage. Eligible to all offices.
1907	Norway	Full parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage.
	Sweden	Eligible to municipal offices.
	Denmark	Can vote for members of boards of public charities and serve on such boards.
	England	Eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town councilors.
	Oklahoma	New state continued school suffrage for women.
1908	Michigan	Taxpayers to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises.
	Denmark	Women who are taxpayers, or wives of taxpayers, a vote for all officers except members of Parliament.
	Victoria	Full state suffrage.
1909	Belgium	Can vote for members of the Counseils des Prudhommes, and also eligible.
	Province of Voralberg (Austrian Tyrol)	Single women and widows paying taxes were given a vote.
	Ginter Park, Va.	Tax-paying women, a vote on all municipal questions.
1910	Washington	Full suffrage.
	New Mexico	School suffrage.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage made universal. (Three-fifths of the women had had it before.)
	Bosnia	Parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate.
	Diet of the Crown Province of Krain (Austria)	Suffrage to the women of its capital city, Laibach.

Time	Place	Kind of Suffrage
1910	India. (Gaekwar of Baroda)	Women of its dominions vote in municipal elections.
	Wurtemberg, Kingdom of	Women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the Chamber of agriculture. Also eligible.
	New York	Women in all towns, villages and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.
1911	California	Full suffrage.
	Honduras	Municipal suffrage in capital city, Belize.
	Iceland	Parliamentary suffrage for women over 25 years.
	Ireland	Women made eligible to city and county councils.
1912	Arizona	Full suffrage.
	Kansas	Full suffrage.
	Oregon	Full suffrage.
1913	Alaska	Full suffrage.
	Illinois	Presidential, municipal and partial state and county suffrage.
	Norway	Parliamentary suffrage made universal.
1914	Iceland	Full suffrage conferred on women.
	Illinois	Franchise law upheld as constitutional by the Supreme Court of Illinois.
	Montana	Full suffrage.
	Nevada	Full suffrage.
1915	Denmark	Full suffrage.

SUFFRAGE STATUS IN THE UNITED STATES

States where women have full suffrage—Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Nevada, Montana, Alaska.

Presidential and municipal suffrage—Illinois.

States which vote on question in 1916—Iowa (June 5), South Dakota, West Virginia.

State which votes on the question in 1917—Arkansas.

State where amendment has passed one legislature and must pass another—Tennessee.

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This speech is included in the text of Björkman and Porritt's "Woman Suffrage." It shows that many women of to-day are failing to discharge their own household duties probably because they do not understand that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that women shall become responsible for many things outside their home.

ADDAMS, JANE, BALCH, EMILY G., HAMILTON, ALICE. Women at The Hague. Macmillan, N. Y., 1915. 75c.

An account of the International Congress of Women, convened at The Hague in April, 1915, and of the journeys undertaken by two delegates from that congress.

ANTHONY, KATHERINE. Feminist movement in Germany. Holt, N. Y., 1915. *$1.25.

An excellent presentation of the woman question in Germany with emphasis upon the "Mutterschutz" phase of the movement.

ASTELL, MARY. An essay in defence of the female sex. A. Roper and R. Chavel, London, 1697. (Columbia Library.)

"Rather a counter-attack on the male sex than a defense of the female sex. The first twenty pages contain many keen, though good humored observations upon the sphere of women, and the effect of their education upon their minds."

BARNES, EARL. Woman in modern society. B. W. Huebsch, N. Y., 1913. *$1.25.

The writer emphasizes the belief that men and women alike will achieve the greatest freedom and happiness not by minimizing sex differences, but by frankly recognizing them and using them.

BAYLES, GEORGE J. Woman and the law. Century Co., N. Y., 1901. *$1.40.

This good general view of the legal condition of the women of the United States is a clear statement but not an exhaustive analysis.

* Used thruout the bibliography for National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Beard, Charles A. American citizenship. Macmillan, N. Y., 1914. *$1.

A handbook for elementary students of citizenship which aims to emphasize the great principles of government rather than to give too much attention to details of political organization.

Beard, Mary R. Woman's work in municipalities. p. 319-37. Appleton & Co., N. Y., 1915. *$1.50.

A clear summary which emphasizes the work that the women of America have done in behalf of rescuing the city from the power of evil and inefficiency and placing it upon a higher standard of morality and effectiveness.

Bebel, August. Woman under socialism. New York Labor News Press, 1904. $1.

The translation of a German work whose chapter on "Woman's civic and political status" is informing and contains a good general argument for political equality.

Bjorkman, Frances M. Why women want to vote. National, N. Y. 5c.

"Women want to vote, not only because they are women and want to do the mother work of the world that has, until now, always been in their hands but because they are human and are anxious to do their part in human work."

Bjorkman, Frances M. Woman suffrage and the liquor interests. National, N. Y. 5c.

In this illustrated pamphlet Miss Björkman gives proof of the organized opposition of the liquor interests.

Bjorkman, Frances M., and Porritt, Annie G. Woman suffrage. Rev. ed. National, N. Y., 1915. 25c.

This little handbook of joint authorship covers the history of suffrage in the United States, the extent of enfranchisement, the arguments for suffrage and the results.

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A very good record of the woman suffrage movement in the British Isles.

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In which Miss Blackwell sets doubters straight on the subjects of militancy, feminism and socialism in connection with the suffrage movement in America.

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Answers, with facts, the query, "What meaning has suffrage in connection with the temperance question?"

BRINK, CLARK M. Making of an oration. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1913. *$1.50.

In offering this practical manual the author presents the most approved methods to be employed in persuasive public speaking.

BRYCE, JAMES. Studies in history and jurisprudence. 2v. Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1901. *$3.50.

These volumes aim to bring out the importance of the constitutional and legal element in history by making a comparison between the history and law of Rome and the history and law of England.

CATT. Woman suffrage and its basic argument. National, N. Y. 5c.

The basic argument which Mrs. Catt gives force to is the justice of votes for women.

CLARK, JAMES F. Why women ought to desire the ballot. 91 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1913. Gratis.

A sermon which has so great propaganda value that it has been published as a suffrage tract. Its theme is that suffrage is what men and women need for more perfect education; that it is what the nation needs for its security and progress; and that it is in the direction of all modern civilization and Christian progress.

CLEVELAND, ARTHUR R. Woman under the English law: From the landing of the Saxons to the present time. Hurst & Blackett, London, 1896.

A concise account of the laws which concern women during the period ranging from 450 A. D. to the end of the last century.

COIT, STANTON. Soul of America. Macmillan, N. Y., 1914. *$2.

A study which finds its origin in the conviction that the ultimate dynamic of all thorough reform in domestic life, in economics and politics is to be found in the sense of reality and urgency with which moral principles and social ideals are invested.

COLQUHOUN, PATRICK MACC. DE. Roman civil law: Illustrated by commentaries on and parallels from the Mosaic, Canon, Mohammedan, English and foreign law. 4v. Stevens & Sons, London, 1849.

A summary which states the Roman law, traces its origin and development and follows it with parallels from various systems enumerated in subtitle.

CREEL, GEORGE. Chivalry versus justice: Why the women of the nation demand the right to vote. National, N. Y. 3c.

A forceful arraignment of false chivalry and an appeal to the true sense of justice that can recognize the worn out claims of sham chivalry.

CRAIGIE, MARY E. Christian citizenship. National, N. Y. 5c.

A good exposition of the relation of the church to suffrage.

CROTHERS, SAMUEL M. Meditations on votes for women. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1914. *$1.

Allaying the fears of any who think woman suffrage is a first step in an impending revolution, the writer shows that the movement is only a necessary adjustment to the results of a revolution that has already happened.

CURTIS, GEORGE W. Higher education of women; found in v. 1, Orations and addresses. Harper, 1894. 3 v., ea. $3.50.

"We may be very sure that we shall never know the sphere of any responsible human being until he has perfect freedom of choice and liberty of growth." This is the sentiment that applies both to higher education and to woman suffrage.

CURTIS, WILLIAM E. Around the Black Sea. Hodder & Stoughton, 1911. *$2.50.

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DELL, FLOYD. Women as world builders. Forbes & Co., Chicago, 1913. *50c.

Following a preliminary chapter on "The feminist movement" this volume treats of the qualities of feminism manifested in the activities of a group of prominent women of to-day; among them are Jane Addams, Margaret Dreier Robins, Ellen Kay and Dora Marsden.

Du Bois, W. E. B. Disfranchisement. National, N. Y., 1911. 5c.

A clear cut argument for complete democracy.

Eastman, Max. Is woman suffrage important? National, N. Y., 5c.

A defense of suffrage as an act demanded by the ideal principles of democracy and as a step to be taken with nature in the evolution of a great and symmetrical race.

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An excellent short statement covering "home and mother" sentiments.

Effect of Vote of Women on Legislation. National, N. Y. 5c.

An investigation in the equal suffrage states made in Dec., 1913, by the Evening Sun of New York City, and brought up to the end of the legislative session of 1915.

Ellis, Havelock. Soul of Spain. p. 86-7. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1909. *$2.

Havelock Ellis explores the "essential Spain—its supreme manifestation of a certain primitive and eternal attitude of the human spirit, an attitude of heroic energy, of spiritual exaltation, directed not chiefly towards comfort or towards gains, but towards the more fundamental facts of human existence."

Esenwein, J. Borg. How to attract and hold an audience. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge, N. Y., 1902. $1.

One of the best expositions of the subject.

Esenwein, J. Borg, and Carnagey, Dale. The art of public speaking. Home Correspondence School, Springfield, Mass., 1915. $1.62 postpaid.

Declares, expounds and illustrates the following articles of the speaker's faith: (1) Public speaking is public utterance, public issuance of the man himself; (2) Will must have complete control over thought so that the outer self may give unhampered expression to the inner; (3) No one can learn how to speak who does not first speak as best he can.

Fawcett, Millicent G. Home and politics. Women's Printing Society, London.

The chief arguments are that women need the suffrage in order that they may be wise mothers and housekeepers; that

they will not become less womanly; and that the womanly and domestic side of things should weigh more and count for more in all public concerns.

FAWCETT, MILLICENT G. Women's suffrage. Dodge Publishing Co., N. Y., 25c.

A good brief history of the suffrage movement in England showing the non-militant attitude of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies of which Mrs. Fawcett is president.

FERRERO, GUGLIELMO. Ancient Rome and modern America. Putnam, N. Y., 1914. *$2.50.

A comparative study of morals and manners which holds up to view the most important differences between the ancient world and the modern, between Europe and America.

FEYJOÓ Y MONTENEGRO, BENITO G. A defence or vindication of the women. T. Becket, London, 1778.

A dissertation which aims to prove the intellectual equality of men and women.

FOWLER, NATHANIEL C. Art of speech making. Sully & Kleinteich, N. Y., 1915. *50c.

A practical treatise on the art of speech making covering every department of vocal expression, adapted to both professional and amateur speakers.

FOWLER, W. WARDE. Social life at Rome in the age of Cicero. Macmillan, N. Y., 1910. *$2.25.

A picture of the life and manners, of the education, morals and religion of the age of Cicero.

GEORGE, W. L. Woman and to-morrow. Appleton, N. Y., 1913. *$1.25.

A dispassionate discussion of the demands and desires of the feminist movement in its truest sense.

GILMAN, CHARLOTTE P. Women and economics. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, 1898. $1.50.

A study of the economic relation between men and women as a factor in social evolution.

HALE, BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON. What women want. Frederick A. Stokes Co., N. Y., 1915. $1.25.

Mrs. Hale works into unity her musings, observations and study of the needs, capacities and aspirations of women. She says: "It is my conviction that the evolutionary growth

known as the Feminist Movement is gradually supplying to women the things they most need, and it is therefore with Feminism that this book deals."

HARPER, IDA H. Brief history of the movement for woman suffrage in the United States. Rev. ed. National, N. Y., 1915. 5c.

A succinct short history which may be found incorporated with the text of Björkman and Porritt's "Woman Suffrage." It covers the period from 1647 to 1915.

HARPER, IDA H. Life and work of Susan B. Anthony. 3v. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1898. 3v. $5.

A history of Susan B. Anthony which is at the same time a story of the evolution of the status of woman. It includes public addresses, Mrs. Anthony's own letters and many from her contemporaries during fifty years.

HECKER, EUGENE A. Short history of women's rights. Putnam, N. Y., 1914. *$1.50.

Gives a survey of woman's rights from the days of Augustus to the present time with special reference to England and the United States.

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Selections from the speeches and essays of Julia Ward Howe with introduction and notes by her daughter.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN. Women's position in the laws of the nations. Karlsruhe, 1912.

A compilation of the laws of different countries prepared by the I. C. W. standing committee on laws concerning the legal position of women.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE. National, N. Y., 1913. 40c.

A report of the seventh congress of the Alliance, held in Budapest, Hungary, June, 1913. Twelve delegates from each of twenty-one countries were present, with especially invited delegates from Egypt, India, Burmah, China, Japan and the Philippines. The report embraces a survey of the status of suffrage to the date of this congress.

JACOBI, MARY P. "Common sense" applied to woman. (See appendix for listed suffrage speech.) Putnam, N. Y. *$1. 1915.

This volume presents in expanded form the address that the author delivered before the committee on woman suffrage of the Constitutional convention of 1894.

JOHNSTON, MARY. Speech delivered to the House of Governors in Richmond, Va., Dec. 1912. National, N. Y. 5c.

Miss Johnston analyzes briefly the "eternal spirit of democracy, the eternal spirit of justice" and relates suffrage to both.

KELLEY, FLORENCE. Some ethical gains through legislation. Macmillan, N. Y., 1905. *$1.25.

A thoroughly practical presentation of how much more has been accomplished in suffrage states than in non-suffrage states.

KLEISER, GRENVILLE. Complete guide to public speaking. Funk & Wagnalls, N. Y., 1915. *$5.

A comprehensive dictionary guide to public speaking.

LAIDLAW, HARRIET B. Organizing to win. National, N. Y., 1914. 5c.

A handbook for working suffragists which outlines a scheme for organization by the political district plan. This plan of organization has been put into operation all over the United States.

LECKY, WILLIAM E. H. Democracy and liberty. 2v. Longmans, N. Y., 1899. $5.

Treats woman's political and economic status.

LIVERMORE, HENRIETTA. Outline of suffrage speech. Woman's Journal, Boston.

A survey in outline of woman suffrage as tabulated from a group of lessons for a suffrage school.

MCCABE, JOSEPH. Woman in political evolution. National, N. Y. 5c.

An informing survey of the status of women through successive stages of development from primitive times to the present.

M'CARTHY, JUSTIN H. Political enfranchisement of women. Central National Society for Women's Suffrage, London, 1890.

A strong appeal to the sense of justice.

MAZZINI, GIUSEPPE. Duties towards the family in The duties of man. Everyman's lib. Dutton, N. Y., 1907. 35c.

The burden of the equality argument here is: "Consider woman, therefore, as the partner and companion, not merely of your sorrows, but of your thoughts, your aspirations, your studies, and your endeavors after social amelioration. Consider her your equal in your civil and political life."

MCCLUNG, NELLIE L. In times like these. Appleton, N. Y., 1915. *$1.

A Canadian woman's opinions on the subject of the fair deal which every man and woman should have. The suffrage chapter treats of the hardy perennial, prejudice. "In regard to tenacity of life, no old yellow cat has anything on a prejudice. You may kill it with you own hands, bury it deep, and sit on the grave and behold! the next day, it will walk in the back door, purring."

MCCULLOCH, CATHERINE W. Mr. Lex, on the legal status of mother and child. Revell, Chicago, 1899. 35c.

This parable illustrating the possibilities of injustice to mothers in states which grant to fathers the guardianship of children was a large factor in securing an equal guardianship law in Illinois.

MACKAYE, PERCY. Hymn for equal suffrage. "The present hour." Macmillan, N. Y., 1914. *$1.25.

A stirring hymn to be sung to "John Brown's Body." See p. 3.

MACKELDY, FERDINAND. Handbook of Roman law. T. & J. W. Johnson & Co., Philadelphia, 1883. *$6.50.

Doctrines, principles and rules of Roman law in concise form.

MEAD, LUCIA A. Abolition of the war system. National, N. Y. 5c.

Uniform with a series of pamphlets treating of the abolition of certain social evils.

MEREDITH, ELLIS. What difference does it make to women? National, N. Y., 5c.

Contrasts suffrage states and non-suffrage states in the matter of guardianship laws and inheritance laws.

MILITARISM VERSUS FEMINISM. G. Allen & Unwin, London.

An inquiry and a policy, demonstrating that militarism involves the subjection of women.

MILL, JOHN S. Subjection of women. Longmans, N. Y., 1906. *40c.

One of the most forcible and logical arguments for woman suffrage. Among many contentions the writer maintains that if only a few women want the ballot the door should not be shut upon them on the ground of social utility.

MUIRHEAD, JAMES. Historical introduction to the private law of Rome. Adam & Charles Black, Edinburgh. 1886. 21s.

An article written for the Encyclopedia Britannica expanded to meet the requirements of a textbook.

NATHAN, MAUD. Progress of equal suffrage. National, N. Y. 5c.

A concise survey of the status and gains for equal suffrage to April, 1915, and a review of the political activity of enfranchised women.

NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION COMMISSION. Index digest of state commissions. Frederick D. Colson, Secretary commission, State Library, Albany, 1915.

An invaluable digest of state constitutions which puts in readily accessible form the exact provisions of the fundamental law of the states. The special reference for this outline shows how the state constitutions are amended.

OSTROGORSKI, M. Rights of women: A comparative study in history and legislation. Scribner, N. Y., 1893. $1.

The writer examines the laws of the different countries as to the position of women with regard to the exercise of political and public rights.

PHELPS, EDITH M. Woman suffrage. (Debaters' handbook.) The H. W. Wilson Co., White Plains, N. Y., new ed. 1916. *$1.

Material on both sides of the suffrage question is presented for debating purposes. The brief is helpful in analysis of arguments.

PHILLIPS, WENDELL. Shall women have the right to vote? Reprinted by the Equal Franchise Society of Penna. 1912.

A speech made in 1851 which admirably makes clear the relation of the present movement to its historical background.

PLATO. Republic. Everyman's lib. Dutton. *35c.

The sections of the fifth book bearing upon the subject of equality contain strongly worded statements whose assertion is that men and women have the same natural gifts, and that they should have the same sort of education and should follow the same pursuits.

POLLOCK, FREDERICK, AND MAITLAND, FREDERIC W. History of English law before the time of Edward I. 2v. Cambridge University Press, London, 1895. 40s.

Sketches early English legal history, surveys doctrine of English law in the early middle ages, and gives a digest of private rights and duties.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS INFORMATION SERVICE. 1915 Annual. H. W. Wilson Co., White Plains, N. Y. (To be found in public libraries.)

A cooperative clearing house of information on questions of public significance. It publishes a weekly bulletin, with bi-monthly cumulations, bringing this information to the attention of its subscribers; acts as a medium of exchange between cooperators and distributing agencies in having publications sent direct to those desiring them; and furnishes its subscribers, at the cost of copying, with valuable typewritten material compiled by various organizations but never published.

REMBAUGH, BERTHA. Political status of women in the United States. Putnam, N. Y., 1911. $1.

A digest of the laws concerning women in the various states and territories. "Each state is dealt with upon one fixed plan:—the situation as to general suffrage is first given in the words of the particular constitution, then follows the constitutional and statutory regulation of special and local suffrage.

ROBINS, MARGARET D. The ballot for women for the protection of the home. Woman Suffrage Party, N. Y. 5c.

Out of her full experience among people of the tenement districts of Chicago, Mrs. Robins shows how the ballot would be an implement in the hands of these home makers for the better protection of their homes.

ROBINSON, FREDERICK B. Effective public speaking. La Salle Extension University, Chicago, 1915.

A course of lessons which in developing effective speech aims incidentally to systematize reading, research and thought.

ROE, GILBERT E. Discriminations against women in the laws of New York. 5c.

A summary of the laws in New York state that discriminate against women.

ROSS, EDWARD A. Social psychology. Macmillan, N. Y., 1908. *$1.50.

An outline and source book of social psychology. In it the writer supports woman suffrage on the grounds that much of woman's exaggerated impressionability disappears once she enjoys equal access with men to such individualizing influences as higher education, travel, self-direction, professional pursuits, participation in intellectual and public life.

SCHIRMACHER, DR. KAETHE. Modern woman's rights movement. Macmillan, N. Y., 1912. *$1.50.

A historical survey of the woman movement which is a translation of the second German edition. The chapters deal with the progress to 1912 made by women all over the land towards the ideals of equality that have been fixed for attainment.

SHAW, ANNA H. Speech delivered at Birmingham, Ala., April 16, 1915. National, N. Y. 5c.

A thoroughly characteristic speech interspersed with original answers to arguments in which Dr. Shaw urges to think of women as human factors in the world's progress.

SHAW, ANNA H. Story of a pioneer. Harper, N. Y. 1915. *$2.

An intimate story of Dr. Shaw's life which in part is the story of the struggles and progress of suffrage during more than thirty years. Her good judgment that has shaped sound suffrage policies and her never-failing sense of humor that has leavened many a lump of suffrage hardship leave their impress upon the pages.

"Sophia." Beauty's triumph; or, The superiority of the fair sex invincibly proved. J. Robinson, London, 1751.

Essays which review and refute the arguments for the natural right of man to a sovereign authority over woman.

Squier, Belle. Woman movement in America. A. C. McClurg, Chicago, 1911. *75c.

A short account of the struggle for equal rights which is a picture of the phases of suffrage history rather than a collection of facts.

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady and Others. History of woman suffrage. 4v. National, N. Y., 1889. $8.

These volumes put into permanent form the scattered accounts of the woman suffrage movement that were available in the eighties.

Sumner, Helen. Equal suffrage. Harper, N. Y., 1909. $2.

The results of an investigation in Colorado whose object was "to disentangle from other political factors the influence of equal suffrage upon political and social life."

Swanwick, H. M. Future of the women's movement. G. Bell & Sons, London, 1913. 2s 6d.

There is less of prophecy than the title suggests. The pages sketch the source and aims of the woman movement in England to show the directions in which it appears to be traveling.

Tacitus, Caius C. Works. 2v. Oxford translation, revised. Bell & Daldy, London, 1872.

A valuable translation of Tacitus on account of the illuminating footnotes. There are many others, among them the inexpensive "Everyman's library" translation, published by E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y.

Thomas, Thaddeus P. Why equal suffrage has been a success. Connecticut Woman Suffrage Assn., pa. 15c.

Sixteen benefits from woman suffrage are enumerated with a half benefit cited at the close—the half purification of politics. "Women may not be able to purify politics completely but they will quietly sweep out of power those corrupt politicians who make money by selling the bodies and souls of children."

TUCKER, T. G. Life in the Roman world of Nero and St. Paul. Macmillan, N. Y., 1910. *$2.50.

A faithful presentation of the age of Nero, untechnical and popular.

WALSH, W. Dialogue concerning women, being a defence of the sex. R. Bently, London, 1691.

In dialog this volume deals mainly with a comparison of the morals of the two sexes.

WHITLOCK, BRAND. Women and democracy. Equal Franchise Society, N. Y., 1910. 5c.

The spirit of this address is expressed in the following: "Men vote because they are men. There is no other reason under heaven than that, and women have the right to vote because they are women, because with men they are part of humanity."

WIENER, LEO. An interpretation of the Russian people. McBride, Nast & Co., N. Y., 1915. *$1.25.

An attempt "without bias or rancor, to present all the sides of the national existence and to moderate the Russian spirit of self-abasement in the light of Anglo-Saxon objectivity and fairness."

WILSON, JENNIE L. Legal status of women in the United States. Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Ia. 1912. *$2.50.

A book prepared for the purpose of presenting to the women of all states in a brief and concise form a digest of the most important laws pertaining to marriage, divorce, care and custody of children, mutual obligation of husband and wife, guardianship, property and other subjects that concern women most deeply.

ZIMMERN, ALICE. Women's suffrage in many lands. Published at Bream's Building, Chancery Lane, London, 1909. 1s.

A clear and intelligible review of the history and status of the woman suffrage movement in countries the world over.

Suffrage News

Forerunner. 627 W. 136th st., N. Y. Yearly $1.

Issued monthly by Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Headquarters News Letter. National, N. Y. Yearly 25c.

A monthly publication which is "a printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country."

Woman's Journal. 585 Boylston st., Boston. Yearly $1.

A weekly newspaper "devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women." See issue of January 29th for list of editorials appearing during 1915. Many have direct bearing upon subjects considered throughout the outline.

Woman Voter. 48 East 34th St., N. Y. Yearly 50c.

A live monthly publication isued by the Woman Suffrage Party.

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